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TO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OSLO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 020131

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, VS, VN

SUBJECT: SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER'S SPEECH ON VIET-NAM;
SWEDISH POSITION ON PRG ISSUE AT LAW OF WAR CONFERENCE.

LONDON FOR GEORGE ALDRICH

REF: STOCKHOLM 448

1. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LOWENSTEIN CALLED IN SWEDISH
CHARGE LIDGARD JANUARY 28 TO EXPRESS, AT THE SPECIFIC RE-
QUEST OF THE SECRETARY, OUR DISAPPOINTMENT AND ANNOYANCE
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AT THE REMARKS

BY FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON AS REPORTED
BY REFTEL. LOWENSTEIN MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. IN VIEW OF THE IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-SWEDISH RELATIONS SINCE THE DIFFICULTIES WE EXPERIENCED JUST BEFORE CONCLUSION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT ON VIET-NAM, WE FIND FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON'S SPEECH OF JANUARY 27 TO BE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTING.

B. AS REPORTED TO US BY OUR EMBASSY IN STOCKHOLM, MR. ANDERSSON'S REMARKS CONTAIN SERIOUS MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE SITUATION IN VIET-NAM AS WELL AS ATTACKS ON THE UNITED STATES. SUCH ATTACKS SERVE ONLY TO HAMPER THE

DEVELOPMENT OF US-SWEDISH RELATIONS AND, INDEED, COULD WELL CAUSE A SETBACK TO OUR MUTUAL DESIRE FOR CLOSE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ASSOCIATION.

C. MR. ANDERSSON HAS SAID THAT THE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP HAS NOT ACCEPTED THE FULL CONSEQUENCES OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT NOR HAS IT UNDERSTOOD THE LESSON OF THE LAST TWENTY YEARS. SUCH A STATEMENT DOES VIOLENCE TO THE FACTS OF THE MATTER AND TO THE UNITED STATES' RECORD OF SCRUPULOUS COMPLIANCE WITH THE AGREEMENT DESPITE THE SERIOUS AND MANIFEST VIOLATIONS OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE.

D. AT A TIME WHEN LARGE NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES ARE ATTACKING POPULATED AREAS WHICH WERE INDISPUTABLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM WHEN THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED, IT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO US THAT MR. ANDERSSON SHOULD CHARACTERIZE THE HOSTILITIES IN VIET-NAM AS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE "SAIGON REGIME" AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT ITS POLICIES.

E. NOR CAN WE ACCEPT THE STATEMENT THAT AMERICAN SUPPORT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM SERVES TO PROLONG THE CONFLICT, IN VIEW OF THE DEMONSTRABLE FACT THAT NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES ARE ATTACKING IN THE SOUTH WHILE SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES ARE FIGHTING ONLY IN THE SOUTH AND NOT

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IN THE NORTH.

F. PARTICULARLY OFFENSIVE TO US IS MR. ANDERSSON'S ALLEGATION THAT, IN EFFECT, THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN OVER A COLONIAL WAR AND THAT CARRYING ON THE WAR IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY IS A DISGRACE OF DEMOCRACY.

G. WE WOULD APPRECIATE A CLARIFICATION OF FOREIGN

MINISTER ANDERSSON'S COMMENTS AND WOULD ALSO LIKE TO KNOW IF WE SHOULD CONSIDER HIS REMARKS TO REPRESENT THE POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SWEDEN.

2. LOWESTEIN NOTED FURTHER THAT ANDERSSON HAD REPORTEDLY PROTESTED AGAINST THE FACT THAT THE REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM ALONE HAS BEEN REPRESENTING SOUTH VIET-NAM IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANS AND CONFERENCES AND THAT SWEDEN INTENDS TO ACTIVELY ACT FOR "EQUALITY BETWEEN THE PARTIES IN SUCH COUNTRIES". IN THAT REGARD LOWENSTEIN CONTINUED:

A. THE USG REGARDS THE ISSUE OF PRG PARTICIPATION IN THE LAW OF WAR CONFERENCE AS ALREADY SETTLED BY VIRTUE OF THE VOTE TAKEN IN THE FIRST SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE (FEBRUARY 1974) DEFEATING THE DRAFT RESOLUTION TO ADMIT THE PRG. THIS ACTION WAS REINFORCED BY THE RESULTS OF

A MAIL TALLY OF GOVERNMENTS PARTICIPATING IN THE SUBSEQUENT ICRC CONFERENCE ON WEAPONS IN LUCERNE WHICH ALSO DECIDED AGAINST PRG PARTICIPATION.

B. IN LIGHT OF THE ABOVE WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE ISSUE IS RAISED AGAIN IN THE SECOND SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE BEGINNING FEBRUARY 3, CONFERENCE RULE 32, WHICH REQUIRES A TWO-THIRDS MAJORITY FOR RECONSIDERATION OF PROPOSALS ADOPTED OR REJECTED BY THE CONFERENCE, SHOULD CLEARLY APPLY. SUCH A RULING, ALTHOUGH CERTAINLY CORRECT, COULD BE CHALLENGED AND, IN THIS EVENT A MAJORITY VOTE WILL BE REQUIRED TO UPHOLD THE CHAIRMAN'S RULING. WE WOULD URGE THE GOS TO SUPPORT UPHOLDING THIS MEANING OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE AND ANY RULING BY THE CHAIRMAN TO THAT EFFECT.

C. WITH REGARD TO A POSSIBLE VOTE ON INVITATION ISSUE
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ITSELF, WE WOULD URGE THAT, IN LIGHT OF THE GOS ABSTENTION ON THIS ISSUE LAST YEAR, THE GOS OPPOSE A PRG INVITATION ON THE BASIS THAT THIS ISSUE HAS ALREADY BEEN DECIDED.

D. WE EXPECT ANY VOTE OF THE PRG QUESTION TO BE VERY CLOSE. ONE OR TWO VOTES COULD MAKE THE DIFFERENCE. HENCE THE IMPORTANCE FOR THE SWEDES AT LEAST TO MAINTAIN THEIR TRADITIONAL POSTURE OF ABSTENTION ON THIS ISSUE AND NOT VOTE IN FAVOR OF PRG ATTENDANCE.

E. OUR POSITION ON THE PRG IS WELL KNOWN TO THE SWEDES. IN NO WAY CAN THE PRG BE CONCEIVED TO BE A GOVERNMENT AND DESERVING OF REPRESENTATION AT THIS CONFERENCE.

F. IN PARTICULAR, WE WOULD EMPHASIZE THE RECENT MAJOR

ESCALATION OF NORTH VIETNAMESE/PRG MILITARY ACTIVITY IN SOUTH VIET-NAM. A VOTE IN FAVOR OF PRG ATTENDANCE AT AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT THIS TIME COULD ONLY BE CONSTRUED AS A VOTE SUPPORTING SUCH AGGRESSION. WE WOULD FIND THIS VERY DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND.

3. IN SUMMING UP OUR OBJECTIONS TO ANDERSSON'S SPEECH LOWENSTEIN MADE TWO POINTS:

- A. THE REMARKS PLACE ON ONE SIDE ALL THE BLAME FOR THE FAILURE OF THE PARIS ACCORDS; THIS REFLECTS A MARKED LACK OF OBJECTIVITY.

B. ANY U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD REGARD AS RATHER INSULTING THE LANGUAGE USED TO CHARACTERIZE U.S. ACTIONS RESPECTING VIET-NAM.

4. LIDGARD PROMISED TO CONVEY THESE U.S. VIEWS TO HIS GOVERNMENT.

5. IN YOUR MEETING WITH ANDERSSON TOMORROW YOU SHOULD MAKE PARALLEL REPRESENTATIONS ALONG THE LINES OF THE FOREGOING. KISSINGER

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